1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
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622 with their problems in search of aid and advice. In spite of this, they had no right to punish or coerce anyone who balked at their admonitions. The Tukuna title of these men was tə̈′/tɻ; on feast days they were distinguished by their feather caps, na:patə̈e (described on pp. 37–38).

[773] According to the legend of the origin of languages (p. 130), the first of these chiefs was a certain dəvɻ, who was also the first man caught by the culture hero dyoi′. The last on Brazilian soil appears to have been Domingos ču′nekɻ of Igarapé de São Jeronymo. The institution was undermined by the Neobrazilians, who, as

[177] lords of the rubber forests and the Indians, pressed these chiefs into their own service.

622 In place of the tə̈′/tɻ, who exercised their main influence within the traditional
648 tribal limits, there arose the *tuixáuas* (in Brazil) and *curacas* (in Peru), whom their masters appointed and made into mere instruments. These poor devils were condemned to lie to their "charges" in order to please their masters, and to lie to the latter so as not to be completely despised by their fellows. As late as 1929 I knew a few of these: all ended by being bullied by other Indians of their own group, who at heart never recognized their authority.

There are today a few Indians of recognized superiority, like Calixto dauerų′kɻ of Igarapézinho de São Jeronymo (pl. 10, *e*) and Nino ɛvën|ⁿkɻ of Igarapé da Rua, to whom the others resort as they formerly did to the tə̈′/tɻ, but these owe to the Neobrazilians the dubious honor of nomination.

War

721 The Tukuna are not warlike; their few fights with the Neobrazilians are isolated acts of vengeance or defense.

411 *Weapons.*—War weapons are the bow, vɛra′ (p. 30), the curare-tipped arrow, kɔ:′ru, and the equally poisoned lance, va:ma′gu, above all, the last named. According to Tessmann, the Tukuna do not use clubs. On several occasions during ceremonies I observed men carrying four-sided clubs with a rounded grip, va·′ra, about a meter in length. Possibly, these are in imitation of clubs used by the northeastern Neobrazilians, who customarily attend celebrations so armed, for the Indians are by no means the only ones who fight on such occasions. Formerly, the Tukuna also used a round shield, načí′nə̈, of tapir leather. The blowgun was not used in warfare. They defended the paths leading to their dwellings with pointed stakes of paxiuba poisoned with curare (tɻpe′). This method is described in the traditional story of the "Tapera Surára."

[173] In the abandoned plantation of this name, on the left bank of the Alto Igarapé de São Jeronymo, in the old days a Tukuna killed a relative. The dead man's parents complained to the authorities at São Paulo de Olivença, who sent soldiers to the igarapé to arrest the murderer. But the inhabitants of the place put poisoned stakes on the path. Several soldiers were wounded, and the rest returned without completing their mission. The Tukuna, however, abandoned the place from that time on.

648 *War with the Omágua.*—The most feared enemies of the ancient Tukuna—one might say their only enemies—were the Omágua. "[The Omágua] attacked by

[727] canoe, with great spears. They captured many; some of them were sacrificed to their idols and the rest served as slaves in their husbandry." A Tupí-speaking tribe

2: Nimuendaju E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
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is unnecessary; a boy and girl may meet at a feast and leave married at the end. The wife's parents never renounce their authority over her and do not permit the husband to take her far away, which results in a certain matrilocal tendency. 584 [591] [593]

Polygyny even today is considered licit, but cases of bigamy are rare. In the only case known, a famous man who was both priest and chief had three sisters as wives simultaneously. Other cases of sororate have occurred. The levirate, also formerly frequent, was considered desirable. 595 587

Jealousy may cause violent quarrels between husband and wife, but never murder and rarely divorce. Adultery, though causing scenes, is insufficient reason for divorce. Guilt is always placed on the woman. The father's authority in the family is great. 593 586 684

In case of robbery, the offended party requires restitution and sometimes is extremely severe with the thief. 685

Injuries and death occur almost exclusively when people are drunk during a feast, for alcohol stimulates certain *Tucuna* to fight. Drunkenness absolves the murderer from responsibility, but the victim's relatives always feel resentful and hostile toward him. 672 733

A house is the property of its builder, i.e., the head of the family. The clearing belongs to the woman by whom it was made. 423

The *Tucuna* no longer have chiefs as they are too individualistic to accept authority and as the civilized people have discredited the office by designating chiefs through whom they could exploit and oppress the Indians. Formerly, chiefs of local groups were heads of large families whose magic powers, intelligence, and ability in dealing with foreigners gave them prestige. There was never, however, a chief for the entire nation. 622 178

Death.—Until the end of the past century, the deceased and all his ornaments were placed in a large chicha jar which was covered with a vessel, buried in a cemetery, and the site sometimes marked with a rod of muirapiranga. Well-liked people sometimes were buried in the house. They put a little food, beverage, and a fire on the grave, periodically renewing it. Tessmann (1930, p. 564) incorrectly attributed secondary burial to the *Tucuna*. 764 [114]

WARFARE

The *Tucuna* are not warlike. They defended themselves against the *Omagua*, their principal enemies, and drove them to the banks of the Solimões River only when the latter had invaded their lands. They fought with arrows, poisoned spears, and round tapir-hide shields, and protected their paths with poisoned caltrops. They did not take prisoners or keep trophies from slain enemy. They never fought civilized people, except to avenge personal insults. 721 648 [411] [727]